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ABSTRACT

Four different mailed questionnaire surveys dealing with inequality in educational opportunity for Mexican Americans have been conducted in the Southwest: (1) Fall 1968, Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) survey of 1,204 superintendents in districts with 300 students or more; (2) Spring 1969, Mexican American Education Study (MAES) survey of 538 superintendents in districts with at least 10% Mexican American students; (3) Spring 1969, MAES survey of 1,166 school principals within districts with 10% or more Mexican American students; and (4) Spring 1972, Southwestern School Study of 636 superintendents from all districts with 300 or more students. At the time of this publication, the Spring 1972 Southwestern Schools Study was being conducted as a follow-up to the HEQ and the Spring 1969 MAES survey. The questionnaire includes some items asked in the 2 surveys along with some additional items not covered in them. In addition to the 538 districts, 98 "Anglo" districts (i.e., districts with less than 10% of each minority group) are also included to allow the study to uncover the range of differences in districts of varying Mexican American enrollment density. Because of the longitudinal panel design, changes which occurred in the 3 years, partly because of the passage of Federal legislation, will also be examined. The methodological framework for the study as it relates to the concept of equal educational opportunity and a literature review of previous research are given. (NQ)

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"THE CONCEPT OF EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY AND THE CHICANO: METHODOLOGICAL FOOTNOTES ON A STUDY OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN THE SOUTHWEST"*

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"THE CONCEPT OF EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY AND THE CHICANO: METHODOLOGICAL FOOTNOTES ON A STUDY OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN THE SOUTHWEST"

INTRODUCTION

It is sad, though true, commentary on the state of social problem research that scientific investigations are often initiated only after social problems have become public issues. It was a decade after the Brown v. Board of Education case in 1954 and only after a period of civil rights activity that the Congress called upon the Office of Education to conduct a massive study on equality of educational opportunity. (Coleman, et. al., 1966) Within a year after publication of the Coleman Report, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights documented the alarming degree of segregation in its related study on Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (1967 a, 1967 b). Numerous studies and restudies of the inequalities in education between blacks and whites have followed the Coleman Study. (See, for example, studies reported in: Mosteller and Moynihan, 1972; Guthrie, et. al., 1971; Harvard Educational Review, 1969; Hanushek, 1968; and O'Reilly, 1970)

Until recently, however, there was no widespread national concern about inequality in educational opportunity for America's second largest minority group, the Mexican Americans. This concern follows a series of school walkouts by Chicano students beginning about 1968. (See: Brischetto, 1970) Court cases

have since been initiated extending the equal protection clause of the Constitution to ethnic minorities. In Cisneros v. Corpus Christi Independent School District, a Southern district court judge ruled that Mexican Americans had been subjected to discrimination as an identifiable ethnic minority and are entitled to protection under the 1954 Brown decision (Civil Rights Digest, 1961: 16) Finally the Civil Rights Commission launched the first large-scale attempt to examine in depth the education of Mexican Americans in its Mexican American Education Study. (MAES)

In the Spring of 1969 the Civil Rights Commission administered mailed questionnaires to 538 district superintendents and 1,166 school principals in the five Southwestern states. The main purposes of the research were: (1) to determine what practices and conditions in the Southwestern schools appear to significantly effect educational opportunities for Mexican Americans and (2) to determine what the relationships are between the practices and conditions in the schools and the educational outcomes for Mexican American students. (USCCR, 1971c: 18)

We are currently conducting a survey of 636 school district superintendents in the Southwest as a follow-up to the Mexican American Education Study. In addition, the data collected in the MAES mailed surveys have been released to us for further analysis. The purposes of our research are chiefly: (1) to identify the types of inequalities that exist among ethnic groups in the schools and districts of the Southwest; and (2)

to identify (and ultimately explain) the changes which have occurred in the school systems of the Southwest in the three years since the Mexican American Education Study.[1]

In this paper we wish to discuss the methodological framework of our research as it relates to the concept of equal educational opportunity. Our basic assumption at the outset is a simple one: the way in which "equality of educational opportunity" is defined largely determines the approach which is used in studying and ultimately solving the problems of inequality in the educational system and in the larger society overall. By defining equal educational opportunity in a particular way, we are setting the goals that become the criteria for eliminating inequalities and, by implication, suggesting the means that might be utilized for arriving at those goals. Hence, the manner in which one defines equal educational opportunity determines the priorities that are brought to bear on public policymaking.

THE CONCEPT OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

In terms of national public policy with respect to the poor, the 1960's might be properly called the "equal opportunity" decade. The overriding concern of the federal government during the sixties was with removing the obstacles that blocked participation by minorities in the system of competition. When the war on poverty was initiated in 1963, the chief concern was with the elimination of absolute poverty, with raising the standard of living of those 20 million or so Americans who fell below

what was defined as the "poverty line." This concern was always accompanied by the assumption that poor people would have to compete in the occupational sphere and that education was the key to acquiring those skills which made an individual a successful competitor. Thus, most of the strategies and programs developed in the poverty war involved some sort of training or education. This was the basic philosophy undergirding such programs as Manpower Retraining, the Job Corps, Community Action Programs, Headstart, and others. Education was seen as the great equalizer in the game of economic competition. This clearly was the operational philosophy of Congress when in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 it commissioned the Office of Education to conduct the second largest social science research project in history on "the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for individuals by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin..." (Mosteller and Moynihan, 1972: 4-5)

In retrospect, we can see that the poverty programs of the sixties, while they may have made more opportunities available, did not achieve actual equality. Recognizing this by 1965, Daniel P. Moynihan called for a reordering of our national priorities:

> The demand for Equality of Opportunity has been generally perceived by white Americans as a demand for liberty, a demand not to be excluded from the competitions of life--at the polling place, in the scholarship examinations, at the personnel office,

> on the housing market...But these opportunities do not necessarily produce equality: on the contrary, to the extent that winners imply losers, equality of opportunity almost insures inequality of results. (1965: 49)

This may be an indication that public policymakers are beginning to realize that providing equal opportunity to compete in society will neither close the large gaps among the various racial and ethnic groups nor reduce the overall degree of inequality in society.

If we define as our chief goal the equalizing of differences among racial and ethnic groups and between the poor and the rich in society, we must conceive of equality of educational opportunity in terms of the economic results of education. But, contrary to the apparent assumptions of the poverty warriors of the sixties it would appear that simple upgrading of the education of the poor and of minorities alone will not move us very far toward the goal of greater economic equality in American society. In a study of differences in family income between blacks and whites in 1962, Duncan found the effect of educational differences on income differences to be quite small. He discovered that only about 14 percent of the income gap between blacks and whites could be closed by equalizing the differences in educational attainment between the two groups. In dollar terms, he found that of the $3,790 difference in median family income between the two races, altering educational attainment would account for only $520,

while adjusting family background (SES of parents) would account for $940, and equalizing occupational differences would remove $830 of this difference. (Duncan, 1969: 85-110)

After reviewing the results of a number of studies, Jencks concludes that variations in cognitive skill cannot account for much of the economic inequality in American society overall.

> There is nearly as much economic inequality among individuals with identical test scores as in the general population. Thus we can hardly suppose that making everyone's scores equal would appreciably reduce economic inequality in the general population. (1972: 110)

He reports that "blacks and whites with equal test scores still have very unequal occupational statuses and incomes." Thus, he concludes, we should "recognize that economic success depends largely on factors other than cognitive skills. We could then try to tackle economic inequality between blacks and whites directly." (1972: 84)[2]

The research evidence is convincing that equalizing educational achievement among racial and ethnic groups without complementary reforms in the economic structure of society will not have the frequently expected effect of eliminating the disparities among these groups. Educational attainment thus must be viewed as only one--and perhaps a very small one--of the influences on income differentials. While educational credentials are clearly important for determining one's income, education alone is not sufficient for explaining the distribution of wealth in American society. We should not overlook the interlocking nature of the

different institutions in society. The manifest function of education is to prepare individuals for full participation in all institutional spheres in society. In actuality, educational credentials can become mechanisms by which the dominant group maintains --perhaps inadvertantly--its privileged position and limits minority groups access to the sources of wealth and power in society. Armando Morales put it rather succinctly when he suggested that:

> a deliberate remark such as 'we don't want dumb mexicans and niggers to become medical doctors and social workers,' produces the same results as "We recognize the disadvantage at which black and brown applicants have been placed by historical injustices but those who cannot meet requirements will not be admitted--We have to maintain a certain quality and standard." (1971 286

In short, it is clear that to achieve the goal of equalizing the differences in wealth in society, we will have to work on more institutions than simply the educational ones. Closing the gap among the minorities and the dominant group and between the poor and the rich will require considerable changes in the economic and political as well as the educational systems of society.

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

We do not mean to suggest that equalizing educational achievement should no longer be seen as important. Indeed, while equalizing educational attainment may not be sufficient for achieving social and economic equality, it certainly is becoming increasingly more important in American society today. And as

we move toward a more complex urban-industrial type society, education becomes more important for the entire population. Changes in the conceptualization of equality of educational opportunity throughout American history can be seen to parallel the needs of an increasingly complex urban-industrial social order.

In pre-industrial America, the notion of equal educational opportunity had no relevance. The extended family in agrarian society, in addition to being the basic economic unit of production, was responsible for educating the young. Public education became institutionalized only after the industrial revolution had wrought a basic transformation in Western civilization and it became necessary to train specialists for new occupations. Thus it was not until the nineteenth century that public, tax-supported education came into being in Europe and America and with it the notion of equality of educational opportunity. (Coleman, 1969: 11)

With the exception of the upper-class who attended private schools, the poor who did not attend school, and the minority group members who were excluded from school, the common school was to provide a common educational experience to children in the United States. According to Coleman, from almost the beginning of public education in this country, the concept of educational opportunity was based on the notion of free and equal access to education. This notion included the following four elements:

(1) Providing a free education up to a given level which constituted the principal entry point to the labor force.

(2) Providing a common curriculum for all children, regardless of background.

(3) Partly by design and partly because of low population density, providing that children from diverse backgrounds attend the same school.

(4) Providing equality within a given locality, since local taxes provided the source of support for schools.

(Coleman, 1969: 13)

This concept of equal educational opportunity has evolved considerably since its inception. In the first stage of the concept's development, the notion that all children must be exposed to a common curriculum was accepted as a given. (Coleman, 1969: 16) In the second stage, this assumption was challenged by the recognition that not all children were college-bound and to expose all children to a curriculum designed for college entrance is to deny some of them equality of educational opportunity since their time could better be spent in preparation for their vocations. Thus, equality of opportunity meant provision of different curricula for different types of students. (Coleman, 1969: 15-16) The third stage in the evolution of the concept called into question the third element of the original definition that children of diverse backgrounds must be allowed to attend the same school. In the Plessey v. Ferguson decision of 1896, the Supreme Court ruled that "separate but equal facilities" were not unconstitutional and thus legalized segregation. This stage ended when this decision was finally reversed in 1954 with the Supreme Court ruling (Brown v. Board) that racial separation was inherently unequal in its effects on children. By focusing on the

effects of schooling, the Supreme Court introduced the new assumption that equal educational opportunity depends upon the results that are produced in school. (Coleman, 1969: 17) The full recognition of this conception of equality ofeducational opportunity (the fourth stage in the development of the concept) came only with the publication of the Office of Education Survey on Equality of Educational Opportunity (1966), popularly named "The Coleman Report" after the principal investigator, James Coleman.

The Office of Education Survey was designed to collect information relevant to five different concepts of equal educational opportunity. The study identifies inequality in terms of:

(1) the community's input to the school, such as per-pupil expenditure, school plants, libraries, quality of teachers, and other similar qualities.

(2) the racial composition of the school, following the Supreme Court's decision that segregated schooling is inherently unequal.

(3) various intangible characteristics of the school...such things as teacher morale, teachers' expectations of students, level of interest of the student body in learning, or others.

(4) consequences of the school for individuals with equal background and abilities. In this definition equality of educational opportunity is equality of results, given the same individual input.

(5) consequences of the school for individuals of unequal backgrounds and abilities. In this definition, equality of educational opportunity is equality of results given different individual inputs. (1969: 18-19)

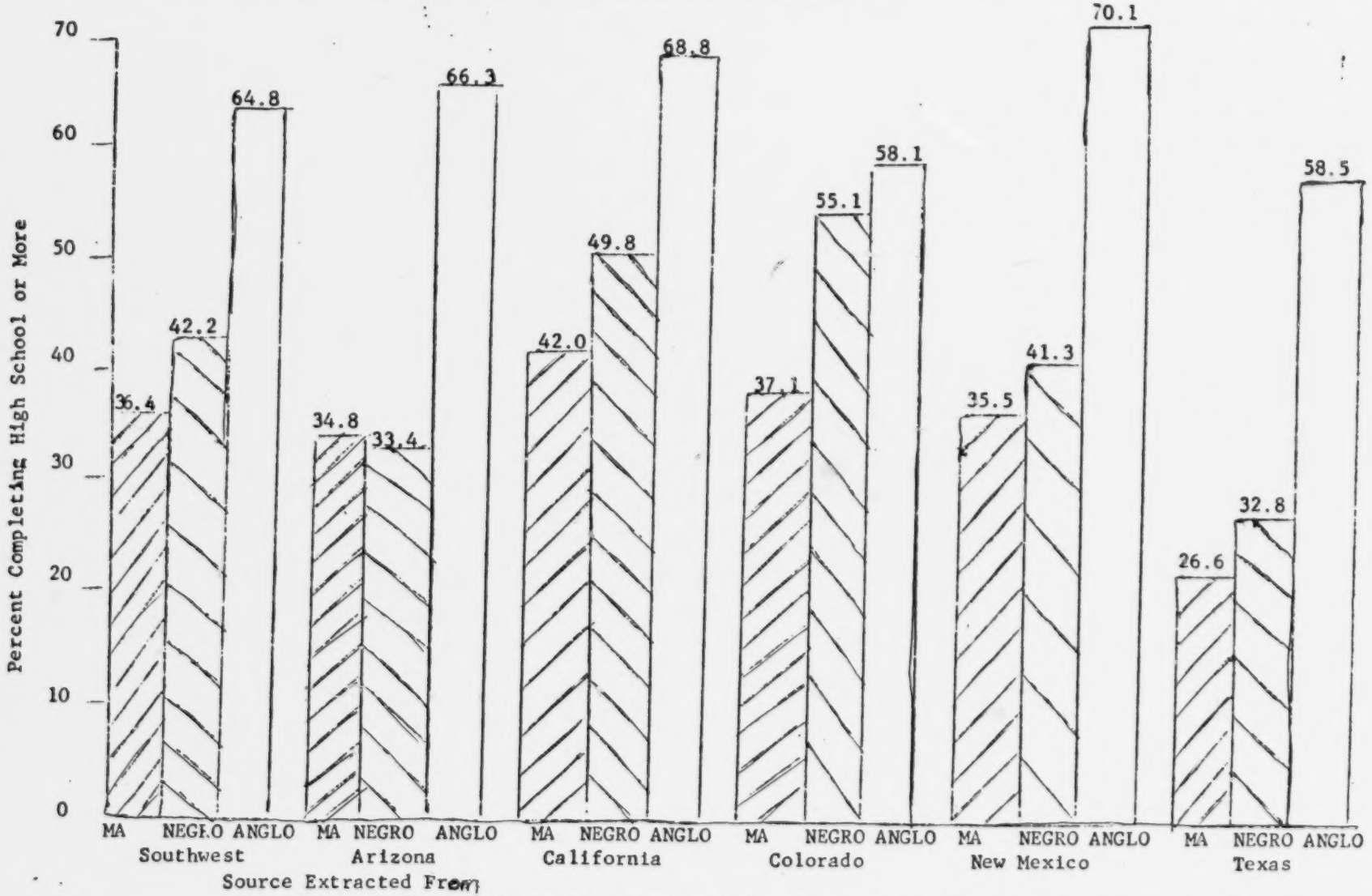
The focus of the survey was to be placed principally on the fourth definition, equality of results given the same individual input, although measures of all five conceptions were to be included in the survey.

Because it shifted the focus of attention from equal educational inputs (or resources) to equal educational outputs (or achievement) among the various racial and ethnic groups, the Coleman Report has been hailed as a major "pathbreaker" in the ongoing attempt to arrive at an operational definition of equality of educational opportunity. "The nation has acquired a goal," Mosteller and Moynihan note, "or, if it has not, we think it should accept it--equal educational opportunity defined as approximately equal distributions of achievement..." (1972: 45)

Whether these "results" or school "outputs" are to be measured in terms of some standardized verbal achievement test (as Coleman, et. al., did) or by some other criterion such as general level of knowledge or even in terms of non-cognitive traits, is a point which has been widely disputed. (See, for example: Jencks, 1972; Holmen and Docter, 1972) But the overwhelming consensus seems to be that equal results should be the final criterion for achieving the goal of equal educational opportunity.

Certainly this goal has not yet been accomplished among ethnic groups in the Southwest. The differences in educational attainment among ethnic groups in the five Southwestern states were sizable in 1970. According to census figures compiled in Figure 1, in three of the five states the proportion of persons of Spanish surname or Spanish Language completing at least four years of high school is approximately half that of Anglos.

Figure 1. Percent Completing 4 Years of High School or More By Ethnic Group, Persons 25 Years Old or Over, For the Southwest and Five Southwestern States.



Source Extracted From:
U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of the Population: 1970, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Final Reports PC(1)-C4, PC(1)-C6, PC(1)-C7, PC(1)-C33, PC(1)-C45

It is important at this point to make a distinction between eliminating individual differences and doing away with group differences in educational achievement. Complete equality of results among individuals in society would be virtually impossible to achieve, given the differences in native abilities and in desired level of achievement among individuals. Such a society would probably be at worst very oppressive and at best very dull. We feel that individuals should be free to achieve at whatever levels they choose within the limits of their native abilities. Equality of results among the various racial and ethnic groups, however, is not such an unrealistic goal, given the fact that these groups have not been shown to be different in native ability. We can and should work toward eliminating group differences in achievement. Then, as group differences are diminished, the overall degree of inequality in achievement for individuals could also be decreased.

Christopher Jencks, in his controversial new work on Inequality (1972), concerns himself with the overall degree of inequality of wealth among individuals in society but does not treat group differences. As he points out, "white workers earn 50 percent more than black workers...But...the best-paid fifth of all white workers earns 600 percent more than the worst-paid fifth." (1972: 14) We concur with Jencks on the importance of reducing the overall degree of economic inequality in society. This should be a major goal guiding public policy. Reducing both individual and group differences should be attempted simultaneously. In terms of pragmatic public policymaking, however, focusing on group differences at this time is more likely

to receive public approval.

"EXPLAINING" THE DIFFERENCES

Identifying differences in educational achievement among the various racial and ethnic groups is one thing; explaining these differences is quite another. Coleman decided to undertake this rather difficult task. His findings have stirred considerable controversy in the six years since their publication and have stimulated a number of reevaluations of the Office of Education survey data and further research on the prediction of academic achievement. In fact, it is the Coleman Report which provided the initial impetus for our research hypotheses. We will not attempt to summarize all of the Coleman findings, we wish only to focus on those results which have been most controversial and which bear directly on our research effort.

As expected, Coleman found a high degree of racial segregation. (Mosteller and Moynihan, 1972: 7) A quite unexpected finding, however, was that, while resources for predominantly black schools in the South were clearly inferior to the resources for whites in the Northeastern schools, differences between black and white schools within regions did not turn out to be great. (Campbell, 1969: 255-56) This finding will serve as a central hypothesis to be tested in our research, i.e. whether and to what degree there are differences between schools of different Mexican American density within the Southwest. A reanalysis of the Coleman data seem to indicate that Mexican American pupils have inferior facilities in some respects. (Mayeske, 1967)

The most controversial finding of the Coleman report, however, came from the analyses of the relationships between academic achievement and variations in school facilities. While it was expected that the study would find that the effects of the quality of school resources on student achievement would be considerable, just the opposite was found. Coleman reports that the variation in achievement scores within racial and ethnic groups, while it was large, could not be attributed to differences in resources between schools. The chief explanation for differences in student achievement was family and peer environment. In summarizing his findings, Coleman indicates that:

> Taking all these results together, one implication stands out above all: That schools bring little influence to bear on a child's achievement that is independent of his background and general social context; and that this very lack of an independent effect means that the inequalities imposed on children by their home, neighborhood, and peer environment are carried along to become the inequalities with which they confront adult life at the end of school. (Coleman, 1966a: 325)

In a paper reflecting on the findings of the larger report, Coleman suggests that:

> Altogether, the sources of inequality of educational opportunity appear to lie first in the home itself and the cultural influences immediately surrounding the home; then they lie in the schools' ineffectiveness to free achievement from the impact of the home, and in the school's cultural homogeneity which perpetuates the social influences

of the home and its environs. (Coleman, 1966b: 73-74)

In short, Coleman found that school inputs (facilities, curriculum, and personnel) had little influence on differences in student achievement; the student's home and peers are the main factors.

These findings have stirred considerable controversy among educators, minority group members, social scientists, and public policymakers. They have also served as a stimulus for further analyses and reevaluations of the Office of Education data. The findings have been both reaffirmed and refuted in the studies which followed. In reviewing seventeen different studies of the effects of school services on pupil performance, Guthrie, et. al., conclude that:

> On the basis of information obtained in the studies we have reviewed, there can be little doubt that schools can have an effect "that is independent of the child's social environment." In other words, schools do make a difference. (1971: 84)

The Coleman Study has been criticized for its poor quality of data, its misuse of statistical techniques, the inadequacy of its conceptual model, and even its errors in the coding and key-punching of its data. (Hanushek and Kain, 1972; Smith, 1972; Armor, 1972; Ryan, 1971; Guthrie, et. al., 1971) Our concern in this paper, however, will be with the Coleman Report as a social policy document. The dangerous policy implications that might result from the Coleman findings are that either (1) equalizing differences, if they exist, among school resources should not be a concern of educational policymakers since it will

have little effect on student outcomes, or (2) programs and resources should be developed for intervening in the home life of "disadvantages" students since it is the home environment that accounts for most of the differences in achievement. These implications are unfortunate since the study cannot comment on the effect that schools might have on students given certain changes. The real findings of the Report are, as Marshal Smith put it,

> that children from 'advantaged' homes enter schools at 1st grade achieving at a higher level than do children from 'disadvantaged' homes and that, at present, schools do not change this. It does not tell us why or whether it could be changed. (1972: 239, emphasis ours)

It must be recognized that the type of analysis of variance that the study employs is not adequate for answering policy questions since it cannot give estimates of the magnitude, or even the direction, of the effects that can be expected if school resources are altered. (Hanushek and Kain, 1972: 135) Policymakers want to know what will happen if the status quo is changed. A multiple regression analysis on a cross-sectional survey will not provide an answer to that question.

Hanushek and Kain argue that the Office of Education should have been less ambitious in its attempts to conduct an input survey, an output survey and a survey on the educational process. The needs of public policy would have been better served, they suggest, had "a careful and exacting determination (been made) of the narrower question of inequality in the provision of educational resources--a question about which considerable

controversy remains." (1972: 118-119)

The controversial nature of the Coleman findings and their dubious implications for social policy have left the question about the extent to which minority groups are discriminated against in terms of school resource allocation an unanswered question. In our research, we will attempt to answer the question with respect to Mexican Americans in the schools of the Southwest. Our research goals are considerably less ambitious than those of Coleman. We will attempt to determine the kinds of inequalities in inputs that exist in the school systems with differing concentrations of Mexican American students. Our assumption is that although equality of inputs is not a sufficient condition for achieving equality of results in the schools, it is certainly a necessary condition.

AN ADDITIONAL UNEXPLORED DIMENSION

Since the Office of Education Survey, the demands for community control of schools have added an additional dimension to the concept of equality of educational opportunity. To Coleman's five definitions of inequality, we add a sixth:

(6) Inequality of influence in the school system. In this definition, equality of educational opportunity entails the equalization of control in the school system to allow for equal representation of group culture and decision-making in the school system.

It is an axiom of democratic society that the process by which decisions are made is even more important than the decisions themselves. In our society, a judicial decision will often be accepted as just if "due process" is adhered to in making the decision. If educational reform is to occur at all, it is imperative that we concern ourselves with the context in which the reform takes place. (Orr and Pulsipher, 1967: 33) One of the great contributions of the war on poverty was the attempt--however feeble--to introduce the concept of "maximum feasible participation" of the poor in shaping and executing public policy. This same concept should in our estimation become a reality in educational decision-making process.

In our research, the participation of minority group members in the decision-making process will be measured in terms of the proportion of ethnic school board members, administrators, and professional staff, the presence and ethnic composition of an advisory body on minority affairs, and the proportion of ethnic PTA presidents. (Actual participation of PTA presidents in the decision-making process was not determined. It is assumed that they must have some influence, however marginal.)

A more indirect measure of ethnic influence on decision-making in the educational system is the development of curricula which are culturally relevant to the minority students. The plea for flexible educational programs was made by the Texas Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1970:

> We can no longer remain under the illusion that a system designed to teach a young Anglo student from Boston or Dallas will work equally well for a Puerto Rican youth in East Harlem, a Mexican American in San Antonio, or a black student in Houston. The school systems must begin to take into account the background and the special needs of their students and alter teaching methods and educational concepts accordingly. In fact, our schools should take advantage of the prevailing differences in culture and language to enrich their intellectual content. (1970)

The Texas Advisory Committee's recommendations provided the impetus for a policy statement by the Office for Civil Rights (Memorandum to School Districts) which reflected the operational philosophy that school districts should provide a culturally relevant education such that the culture, language, and learning styles of all children are recognized and valued. (Gerry: 1971: 6-7) We attempted in our research to measure this manifestation of ethnic influence in the educational process by asking about the kinds and extent of programs for Chicano students. Our particular concern was with programs on bi-cultural education in the curriculum.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Our research design involves the analysis of four different mailed questionnaire surveys:

(1) Fall, 1968, HEW Title VI Survey of 1204 superintendents in districts of at least 300 students enrolled , in the five

Southwestern states.

(2) Spring, 1969, Mexican American Education Study (MAES) survey of 538 superintendents in districts of at least 10 percent Mexican American student enrollment in the Southwest, conducted by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

(3) Spring, 1969, MAES survey of 1,166 school principals within districts of at least 10 percent Mexican American pupils.

(4) Spring, 1972, Southwestern Schools Study of 636 superintendents sampled from all districts in the Southwest with at least 300 students enrolled.

Our survey was conducted as a follow-up to the Fall, 1968, HEW study and the Spring 1969 MAES survey of districts. Thus the sample for our study included 538 districts sampled in 1968-69 by HEW and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. The questionnaire included some of the same items asked in 1968-69 and additional items not covered in these two brief surveys of superintendents. Such a longitudinal panel design allowed us to examine the changes which occurred in the three years since the Civil Rights Commission survey, a period during which some change might be expected due to the passage of considerable federal legislation.

In addition to the 538 districts of at least 10 percent Mexican American student enrollment studied in 1968-69, our 1972 sample included 98 "Anglo" districts, ie., districts with less than 10 percent of each minority group. This additional sample allowed us to uncover the range of differences in school districts of varying Mexican American enrollment density.

The data from our 1972 survey of districts involves 414 variables, requiring 17 computer cards per district, thus yielding a possible maximum of 10,812 data records. Added to these are the computer tapes of data for the other three surveys with more than four times as many total/records as in our survey. The point to be made is that the massive amounts of data employed in our analyses entails considerable data management problems.

There are basically six parts to our analyses:

(1) descriptive analysis of the unequal conditions in districts of differing Mexican American student concentrations in 1968-69;

(2) description of the unequal conditions among schools of different proportions of Mexican American students in 1969;

(3) description of the unequal conditions in districts of different Mexican American concentrations in 1972;

(4) description of changes in districts from 1969 to 1972;

(5) analysis of the predictors of change in the districts of the Southwest from 1969 to 1972; and

(6) analysis of superintendents' opinions and attitudes toward programs for the education of Mexican American students.

Of all the problems encountered in our analyses, the most disturbing has been the problem of validity of the data. We found a number of factors that affected the validity of our findings. First, a problem frequently encountered in the use of the panel design or longitudinal study is that the initial survey serves as a stimulus, cueing the respondents' answers in the direction of less incriminating results. Considering that the original stimulus was by a federal agency with subpoena power, we must assume that the "Hawthorne effect" was operating,

at least to some extent. (The fact that the Civil Rights Commission was conducting the survey may account, on the positive side, for the 99 percent response rate in the 1969 district survey and the 95 percent response rate from the schools.)

The question of the validity of statistics collected by persons other than social scientists for purposes other than scientific research is one that should be investigated by those doing research on the educational systems. The variations in rates of behavior which the researcher is investigating are inextricably related to the organizational activities of the agencies that recordéd the statistics.(Cicourel and Kitsuse, 1963: 9) Cicourel and Kitsuse suggest in their study of high school counseling that:

> If the rates of college-going students, underachievers, "academic problems," etc., are to be viewed sociologically as characteristics of the high school as a complex organization, then the explanation for such rates must be sought in the patterned activities of that organiation and not in the behavior of the students per se.(1963: 9)

Further research is needed on the process by which the Chicano student becomes a statistic in the school records. With the increasing demand for school systems to keep official records and open these records for public view, the problem of discrimination may become less a question of blatant discrimination and more a problem of institutional racism. These sorts of research questions cannot be answered by questionnaire surveys. They will require more direct observation of the day-to-day activities of school personnel and students as they interact in the school setting.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Additional analyses related to these main research goals will also be conducted. We also intend to examine the perspectives of school superintendents on Mexican American students and the types of approaches and programs advocated by superintendents concerning the education of Mexican Americans.

2. This is another way of stating something which educators have been aware of for many years: that there is a poor correlation between success in school and success in the economic system.